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CHATINO - ZAPOTEC OR ZAPOTECAN?

Leslie G. Pride.

Term paper from the tutorial on Zapotecan languages, held at the Torres Bodet Center of the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, Mitla, Oax., December-January, 1976.

Introduction

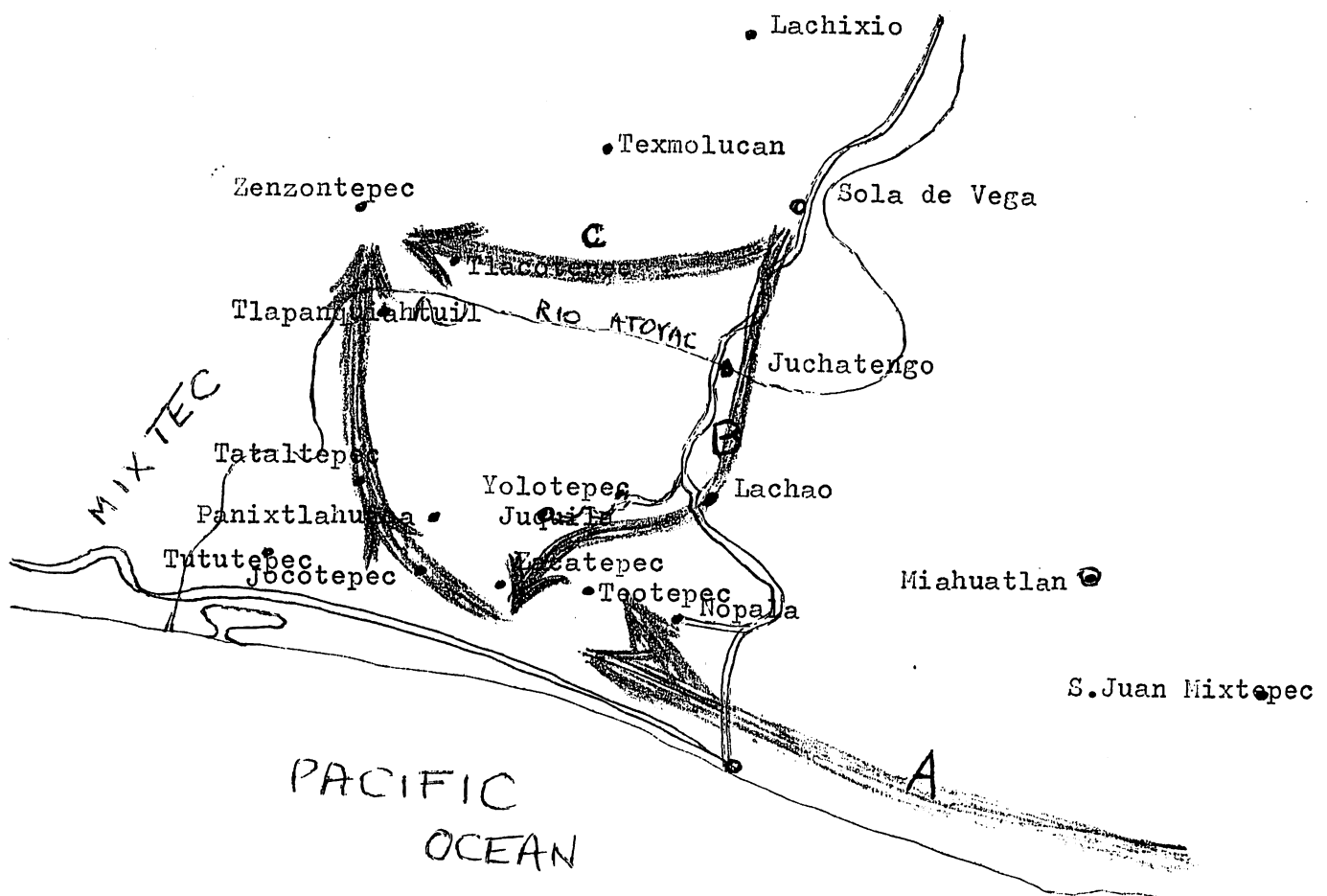
This paper is the outcome of some interviews made during a month's tutorial on Zapotecan languages, at the Torres Bodet Center. Investigators working in eight languages were interviewed: Zapotec of the Isthmus (Pickett and Alsop), Yatzachi Zapotec (Butler and Long), Guelavia Zapotec (Jones), S. Juan Mixtepec Zapotec (Reeck), Lachixio Zapotec (Persons), Texmolucan Zapotec (Speck), ^{Nopala} ~~Tecolotepec~~ Chatino (Wardle) and Tataltepec Chatino (Pride). It was of particular interest to Chatino studies, in that the Lachixio and Texmolucan languages are the closest geographically to the Chatino area.

An attempt was made to identify similarities and differences between features (using this word in a non-technical sense) in these languages. It is probably the first such study ever made from the Chatino viewpoint. Previous studies have usually been made by Zapotec experts with little knowledge of Chatino. And so it probably reflects a bias towards Chatino. But then, the Chatino languages do have certain distinctive identifying features. Not much about the syntax is reported in this paper. That would have required a much more exhaustive questionnaire and list of clauses. Kitty Pride treated this in a separate paper for Pickett. A list of some cognates is appended.

It is fair to say that the Chatino languages are Zapotecan in origin. They have many features in common, and in perhaps 25% of the Zapotec lexicon - a study based on the Isthmus Zapotec dictionary - cognates could be found in Chatino. Such Mixtec cognates as can be found in Chatino are probably direct loans, rather than the parallel forms of related languages, and are much less frequent than the direct cognates with Zapotec.

There has been some speculation for a while about the historical roots of Chatino. From this paper, it would seem that the Isthmus language is closest to Chatino, followed by Lachixio and Guelavia. Therefore Chatino progenitors could have come from two directions: along the coast from Tehuantepec and the Isthmus, possible through the influence of the ancient kingdom of Tehuantepec (route A on the sketch map below), or from the direction of Sola de Vega and Lachixio, a natural emigration route. There is a deviant dialect of Chatino, characterized by fully expanded and vocalized syllables (as compared with the contracted forms of the Nopala/Panixtlahuaca area) running in a thin strip through the main Chatino area (Nop/Pan. above) from the road from Sola de Vega to the coast, via S. Juan Lachao, Yolotepec, Juquila and S. Marcos Zacatepec (route B). Immigrants may have come along this route - still used by pilgrims to the Juquila fiesta, and probably used

by early mestizo settlers in Juquila in the 18th and 19th centuries. From Zacatepec, they may have gone round along the coast to Tataltepec and Tlapanalquiahuitl via Jocotepec. Some may have gone directly to the Tlacotepec/Zenzontepec area from Sola De vega (route C). Speck testifies that Texmolucan may be much more recent of settlement, being itself an emigration from a more inland area. That would explain why the Texmolucan language is not any more like Chatino than it is. It should also be noted that the northern boundaries of the Chatino area are much further south than Harvey claims ("Chatino and Papabuco in the Historical Sources", I.J.A.L., 1968, 38.288-9), probably not much further north than Juchatengo (today completely mestizo), and not embracing Lachixio (which might have been "Papabuco", but was certainly not a Chatino dialect) nor Sola de Vega nor what is today Texmolucan. Neither does the Chatino area include Amoltepec (which is a dialect of Mixtec), Zaniza (Zapotec), nor Santiago Minas (mestizo).



Some general considerations about the languages .

Differences between Chatino and Zapotec.

1. Canonical shapes.

The patterns CVC and CCVC are the most common basic morpheme/word shapes in four of the languages (Guelavia, Mixtepec, Texmelucan and Yatzachi). Isthmus and Lachixio have a predilection for open endings, hence CVCV is common for them.

The only C closure in the Chatino languages is the glottal stop, hence the most common shapes are CVCV, CCV and CV. Glottal is a full phoneme in Chatino, but also occurs palatalized or labialized in medial position. Hence etically it is CV'CV, and this compares with San Miguel el Alto Mixtec which commonly has the pattern CV'CV as well as CVCV.

2. Fortis and Lenis Consonants. Neither Chatino languages report this contrast which is important in most of these Zapotec languages.

3. Nasalization of vowels. Mixtepec and Lachixio do not report this feature, and it is rare in ~~the~~ Isthmus, Guelavia and Yatzachi (the latter it seems that vowels seem more nasalized before glottal). However, Texmelucan reports nasalization of all vowels, having a heavy functional load in the language, as in both Chatino languages.

4. Vowel length. The only language reporting contrastiveness in vowel length, besides the Chatino languages, is Lachixio. But in Chatino, this is a most important feature in the phonology. *Possibly comparable too.*

5. Tone. Zapotec languages seem to employ two-pitch systems, with or without up or down glides, rather than a three-^{or multi-}pitch system preferred by Chatino, in company with Mixtec, Amuzgo, Trique and some Chinantec languages. But tone is employed grammatically by the Chatino languages - as in Zapotec - to accompany aspect and person in the verbs.

6. Affixes. To denote Aspect. Chatino does not have the variety of aspect or voice affixes possessed by these Zapotec languages. ^{Tataltepec} The Chatino inventory of aspect (or voice) pre- and in-fixes lists: /ku-/, /s-/, /ty-/, /-y-/, /n-/, /-gu-/, /ka-/ and /~~h~~-/ combining in different ways, according to verb class, to form five aspects only. Causitive and passive(impersonal) are held to be distinct verb forms (or voices), not just aspects.

Plural. Yatzachi and Isthmus have affixes to mark plural in both verbs and nouns. Lachixio, Texmelucan and Guelavia only report these for nouns.

Mixtepec does not report this feature, nor do the Chatino languages, which have no way of expressing plural except by a numeral or plural descriptive or a plural pronoun.

Person. Overt person markers on verbs ^{in the singular} and innately possessed nouns (ie. pronouns as clitics) are optional in Chatino and in Lachixio, as in Mixtec.

6. 'Inner Feeling' verbs. Certain verbs, such as 'anger', 'thought', 'being embarrassed', 'being ashamed', 'believing' are expressed in the Zapotec languages by compounds involving the words 'heart' or 'liver'. Chatino has a variety of these also: 'love', 'insincerity', 'badness', or 'courage'. But the Chatino languages regularly use a particle, similar to one Longacre assures us occurs in Trique, and probably derived from an archaic form for 'heart' or 'liver'. (This may not be so archaic either. The Wardles' helper from Nopala reacted naively to this particle as meaning, in Spanish, 'heart', even though there is a more common word /free form for this). This particle, when added to certain verb stems, as also to nouns or descriptives functioning as statives, produces a whole extra variety of verbs with an 'inner feeling' content. The only Zapotec language to report something similar was Mixtepec, with the particle /zdo'o/.

7. Adverbs used in compound verbs. This is another most productive semantic area in Chatino - using certain derived adverbs to follow regular verb stems, to increase the definition of action, or transitivity. This is something that only Yatzachi and Isthmus admit the possibility of, and it may not be quite the same there. These Chatino adverbs are derived from verbs - in fact, they are the same as the basic root forms which do not otherwise occur in isolation, such as /ca'a/ from /nga'a/ 'is there', /yala/ from /ndyala/ 'arrive', /ti'i/ from /ndi'i/ 'is living there' (these items are taken from Tataltepec data), and they combine with other verbs to form verbs like /nxñi ca'a/ 'stick firm on (ship on sand)', /ndi'i yala/ 'is there-arrived, ie. is gathered there (water in a pool)'. See other note on compound verbs under Similarities, no.5.

Similarities between Chatino and Zapotec.

1. Glottal stop. This feature is common to all Zapotec and Chatino languages. When clause final, in some Zapotec languages (eg. Isthmus), it is predictable and therefore sub-phonemic. In Chatino it functions as a full phoneme on the word level, ie. is a feature of the word but not of the clause. Except that, in the local pronunciation of Spanish, sentences always end with a glottal.

As in Zapotec, glottal frequently occurs word medial between vowels, (for ?y-, ?w- see note on Differences, no.1). In Zapotec this is often interpreted as laryngealization (as in Texmelucan, Yatzachi and Isthmus), and is usually just one syllable, but in Chatino V?V is always across a syllable boundary. Guelavia distinguishes laryngealization from V?V. This may be just a reverse view of the contrast observed in Texmelucan, Yatzachi and Mixtepec between V? and V?. Lachixio interprets the feature as a ?, but is uncertain as yet. Texmelucan interprets it as a feature of the vowel, not as a consonant.

In YZ we interpret V?V as three segments but a single syllable.

2. Syllabic consonants. Three of the Zapotec languages (Mixtepec - in quantity - Yatzachi and Guelavia - to a lesser extent) report some syllabic consonants. Mixtepec reckons one-third of its consonant inventory can be syllabic. Texmelucan and Lachixio report almost none. Nopala Chatino is not certain about interpretation yet, but they are frequent in Tataltepec. Almost all initial consonants of a cluster of two or more are syllabic.

Apart from a noticeable pitch difference, this made for a more economical analysis.

In YZ these syllabic consonants are not perceived by native speakers as syllabic, and cannot be put into songs as such and are not given a tone when tones are

3. Preceding nasals. Nearly half the words in the Chatino languages begin with /n-/. It can precede a variety of consonants: ch, d, dy, g, gw, j, s, t, x. Besides being a verb prefix ('non-future'), it is common in other word classes. In all the Zapotec languages interviewed, /n-/ is a regular feature, frequently marking completive aspect, /ng-/, and, in the case of Mixtepec, marking 'unreal' and 'stative' aspects as well as a variety of nouns. In Mixtec, there appears to be a more limited use of initial /n-/, mainly before /nd-/. *In YZ stress is on root syllable in verbs and processed nouns or on final syllable of a compound root. Nouns of more than one syllable have stress on first syllable if not compounds.*

4. Stressed syllable in word. Chatino concurs with all five of these Zapotec languages in having the stressed syllable final in the word. This is predictable in Chatino. Only in Isthmus is a contrast of stress reported between ultimate and penultimate syllables.

5. First person singular. Chatino uses nasalization plus tone \pm vowel length to indicate first person singular on unmarked verb and noun stems, as do Texmelucan and Isthmus.

6. Nominalizer before descriptives. Languages other than Isthmus do not seem to have a prefix /na-/ before descriptives, or, if they do, it is said to be different (Mixtepec), or mainly before colors (Guelavia) or a different particle altogether (Yatzachi). ^{may derive from same thing, but occurs in 80% of verbs.} Lachixio was uncertain, and Texmelucan, while pointing out that the /na-/ is Lachixio 'yellow' was suspicious, has a post-posed nominalizer. Chatino /naa/ before statives and descriptives, and, in fact, verb stems in general, is common in an affirmative or delieative sense.

7. Use of 'do' verb in forming compounds.

As in Chatino, ^{Zapotec} /guni/ /gun/ /guun/ /dzone'/ etc. are used with other adverb or descriptive stems to form complex verbs, with the person marker varying position, dependent on verb class, between mid-phrase-after-initial-verb and end-of-phrase or both. This is a useful way, also, of incorporating loaned Spanish verbs. It may be that in sub-conscious Chatino thinking, they react to the Spanish infinitive as if it were an adverbial form of the verb.

[@] This usage parallels the compound verbs described in Differences, no.6.

8. Sentence-level features. Negations and questions are handled similarly. Negation. All these Zapotec and Chatino languages mark this by an initial negative marker. Mixtepec also has a marker at the end. Chatino also has a falling intonation.

Questions. Yatzachi, Guelavia, Mixtepec and Tataltepec Chatino have an initial question marker. Lachixio puts the marker at the end. Texmelucan and Nopala Chatino have one both at the beginning and at the end of the clause. All except Texmelucan have a falling intonation.

List of cognates.

A study of the Isthmus Zapotec dictionary revealed that a proportion of 1 in 4 (25%) of the entries would probably be classed as cognates in some way. Some words, such as 'man', 'woman', 'fire' or 'wood' are obvious. Others are less obvious: 'sing', 'lend', 'run', ~~learn~~ or 'world'. Some require a certain amount of ingenuity to predict the stages of phonological development: eg. ^h/bičuga/Zap., /skua'/Chat. 'shell'; /bičigi/Zap. /ngwiyu'/Chat. 'spider'; /bigu/Zap. /nku/Chat. 'tortoise'; /binni/Zap. /nte^hnyati/Chat. 'gente'; /kuba/Zap. /sku^h/Chat. 'maza'; /biziaa/Zap. /ndiyaa/Chat. 'cacao'; /duba/Zap. /yaa/Chat. 'maguey, nopal'. Finally, others have a certain similarity of form and use, but it seems impossible to predict their phonological development, eg. 'day', 'year', 'night', 'tortilla', 'skin'.

No attempt is made to list here all the cognates found, or to make a detailed study of their phonological relationships. That is for the experts to do. But the items on the following list of cognates were selected:

- (i) As being obvious cognates with Isthmus Zapotec.
- (ii) As more 'universal' words, eg. 'wood', 'world', 'ground', 'house', 'water', 'trail' etc. whether or not these words are cognates.
- (iii) To represent most classes of words.
- (iv) To include some compound nouns (ie. N + N), to observe compounding, ~~and so~~

Because of consideration no.(i), comparison is weighted in favor of the Isthmus language. Lachixio and Guelavía have a high proportion of close cognates, but Lachixio follows the Isthmus in having the next-to-highest proportion of more nearly identical forms, especially in the numerals. Out of a total of 86 items listed, only 18 correspond or almost do so right across the board. They are listed in order of correspondence: the forms with the most number of correspondences first.

Note: @ The data from Nopala Chatino was actually recorded by a speaker from the village of Cerro del Aire, peopled by emigrants from the older town of Teotepec, but there are only minimal differences with Nopala.

①	THATETEER CHATTINO	NOPALA [®] TINO	ISTHMUS	TERMEUCAN Z	LACTIXIO A POTEC	SIN MIXTEREC	GUELAVIA	YATZACHI
pueblo	kidi	hile	gi'i	gyej	eyede	giej	gāj	iyez
as (captivity)	laka	lka	naka	naka	naka	nak	naka	naka
árbol, madera	yaka	hika	yaga	yag	aka	yag	yag	yag
fuogo	ki'i?	tyii?	gi	gi	ki	gi	gi	yhi'
suelo, tierra	loyuu	lyu	layu	(lo) yu	lyu	lyu	lyu	lau yoo
dulce	tyši	ši	nanaši	iš	ndiši	neš	naš	ziš
tres (3)	šna	šna	čonna	čon	čuna	tson	čon	šona
ocho (8)	šnu?	šnu'	šono	šun	šunu	šon	šon	šon?
veinte (20)	kala	kula	gade	gal	ala	gal	gald	gal'fj
yó	na?	na?	naa	ya	li'a	na?	-a	-a?/da?
dice (guatave)	nakwi	hwi	na	na	ni	naaa-me	na	ne?
en, sobre	lo	lo	lu	lo	lu	lo	lo	lau
ojo	kilo	hilo	lu	urlo	luq (mi)	lo	pslo	glau
hombre	ki'yu	hi'yu	ngiu	yu gyee	nue	mgi	ngiu	pico
mercado	lo kaya?	lo hiya?	lugiaa	yaa gi?	i'ya	lgi	lo geze	lau yaa
(su) palabra	škičar? / čar?	čar?	sti'ja?	niy	diča	stij	dič	dizaa
entre de	laha	?	laga	lat	?	lad	laan	radio
flor	kyee	tyee	gie?	gyee	kie	gie?	giaz	yia?
campo monte	kiš'i?	š'i?	gi'š'i?	giš	?	gie?	gi'is	jins?
amarillo	ngatsi	kutsii	guči	káč	na.čina	ngets	ngats	gaaš
inse	tsa / tya	tsa	čaa	čay	ča	tsie	čara	tsaa / yaa
papel	kityi	hityi	gi'yi	giky	iči	gits	gits	yis
cera &	kakwa ti	kwi?	kue?	gaab		kue	kue	kuite
silla	yaka šlyra	hik šlyra	žia (de mont)	ya šily	šleta	yak šil	yallil	yag sih
mujer	kura'a	hna'a	guara	(biñ) maa	ura'a	ura'a	gura	noola
ya, completativo	kwa	wa	ma (ka)	bi		le	ba-a-	ba
éste	nu nde	nu nde	ndi / -ri?	ni / i	ni ngiez	č'i?	nde	ni / nga?
ése (cogita)	nu kwa	nu kwa	nga / -ka	nde / re	lu?	ki	nde	na?
ése (por ello)	nu jwa	ti kwa	nge / -ka	nde / za?	nze'is	ko	ndende	ni?
por aquí	nde re	nde	rari?		ka'a	nu		ni / nga
por allá	nde hwa	kwa	raka / rarka?		ze'ze	ga?		na?

2		ITHALTEEC	NOFALA	ISTHMUS	TEXMELICANI	LAOCHIXO	SIN MIXTEPEC	GUERAVIA	YATZACHI
CHATINO									
nueye (9)	kaz	kaz	ga?	gaa	ki?oo	gize	ga	ga	ga
treinta (30)	kala tyii	kula tyii	grande bi:ii	gal rup ti	ala zi zi?	galptsi?	galbi tsä	si joa	si joa
cuarenta (40)	tu?iwa	tukwa ila	cupalate grade	Kyuu	tsu?e	co?	ti?oa	co?	co?
esta hoy	ntsui?u	nsu?ui	nuu	yu?	nu	no	nu?u	nzo	nzo
animal	na?ni	?ni	mani	wa (an)	na?ni	wa	many	biya	biya
platicar	ta?ar	ta?ar	'diija?	roy riij	di?e	zo di?ij	rundes di?e	zo di?i?	zo di?i?
cantar	kula tu?wa	kula tu?wa	yua nda	ru?ya	kula	no?l		zo le?	zo le?
quien (rel)	nu	nu	ni	Kyu/nu	luke	ne	tu/ke	nolan	nolan
igüien?	ti / tilaka	kui? nu	tu	Kyu	ti	co	tu	nou	nou
vestirse	kaku?	ku?	raku?				rakw	yakwe?	yakwe?
sacar de	kuloo	kuloo	gulee	koy		kwe?	nakwab	yake?	yake?
trabajo	kāa	tāa	jiina	niin	rina	dzi?in	gule?e	zä?äny	zä?äny
(su) cabeza	ikyē	tye	ike-lu?	ik	skilu	gik-lu?	kia	ji?i?e	ji?i?e
techo	kye ni?i	tye na?a	ike yo?o	too yu?	bi?e (sd)	gikyū	kia yu?u	ji?i?e	ji?i?e
día	tsa	tsa	dzi	ji		dze	ji	zä	zä
cinco (5)	ka?yu	ku?yu	gaayur?	gaay	ayur?	ga?i	gaay	geya?	geya?
siete (7)	kati	kuti	ga?e	gaay	ga?i	ga?i	gats	ga?ä	ga?ä
ocho (8)	suu?	suu?	sono	suu	suuu	son	son	son?	son?
diez (10)	ti	ti	äi	ti	zi?	tsi?	tsä	zi	zi
ochenta (80)	hakwa ila	hakwa ila	tpa late grade	tap gel	ay?e	top gal	top gal	top gal	top gal
quince (15)	ti?nu	ti?yu	äiiru?	tiin	äiiru	tsi?n	tsay	äiiru?	äiiru?
tú, usted	nu?u	?ui / ?u	lii	riu	li?i lu	lu?	-o? / -do?	-u / -o	-u / -o
él (person)	yu / ?hi?	?i	laa	yu / ni / ni	li?i	me	-bi / -b	-e? / -ne?	-e? / -ne?
hacer	ku?ni	ku?ni	guni	du	hi?	gun	guun	jone?	jone?
mundo	äalyuu	äandyu	gijilayu	gi?lonbeky	äi lu?as	gijlyu	gä?liu	jye?liou	jye?liou
llorar	kuwa	kuwa	gu?nu	nu?nyu	Yuna	go?on			
cortar	šaa	šna	ru?oote	rikyu?aar	kyu?a co?	ge?u?u	llunbä	tsadde?	tsadde?
noche	ta?ya	tla	geelar?	rel	kula	gi?el	geel	jyel / ?et	jyel / ?et
casa	ni?i	na?a	yoo	yu?	ni?i	yu	yu?u	jyo?o	jyo?o
hogar (su)	tyi	tyi	lyi	lej yu		lidz	liz	liz	liz
dos (2)	tukwa	tukwa	čupa	kyup	čuku	čop	tiop	čopa	čopa
cuatro (4)	hakwa	hakwa	tapa	tap	taku	tap	tap	tap	tap
seis (6)	skwa	skwa	šoo?ar	šup	šuku	šop	šoop	šop	šop
seisenta (60)	šna ila	šna ila	šonak?e grade	šayen	ayune	tsou gal	šayen	šyon	šyon
uno (1)	ška	ška	tobi	tub	tuku	tib	tib	to	to
llagar	tyala	hila	meda nda	driv	u?iina		bzämbä	bablaa jo	bablaa jo

(3)

TATATEPEC
CHATINGO

NORALLA

ISTHMUS

TEXMEUCAN

ZAPOTEC

LACHIXIO

SAN MATEO

GUERAVIA

PATZACH

prestar

ta tone?

ta kiti?

nutiñe?

ngiñ yu/gi?

niñia

nun itad

ndeetha

ybeje?

al/dirección

nde

la

←

no hay

→

-2/a

-2/a

-2/a

carne

kuwāñ?

kuwā?

beela

beel

be/la

bea?ael

beel

be/a?

pezador

kuwalya

kula

benda

bela ↔

bela

bel

beelt

beel

culebra

kuwāñ

kuwā

beenda?

bily

be/la

me?l

beeld

be/l

agua

hitya

tyi?ā

nisa

nis

inza

nis

nis

nis

camino

tyukuii

tukwee

neza

nez

inziu

naez

nez

nez

tortilla

tyi?ha

hiha

geta

git

eta

giet

get

yjet

hueso

tyi?ya

ti?ya

yita

nt

a?ta

azit

tsit

zit

piel

kiki

tyihl

gidi

gid

iti

gid

gidy

jid

año

yika

kika

biza

ta?ā

lana

iz

iz

iz

craneo

skwa? kye

tye

zi?a ike

ik/kyugyu

zuka ziki

be? gik

skoge?

skoge?

jaball'

kuber ki?i?

kuber ši? bihui gi?i?

ku? gi?

ngud gi?

ku? gi?

ku? gi?

ku? gi?

ko? jir?

diablo

kui ta?ka

ne? ša?ā

bini yaba?

nuras

beze?lu

men dos

biñ jab

gwši yje?

él /An con

na

na

lani

ki

l?

-ni/ni

-no

-no

nosotros (incl)

-na

-na

lanu

de-ubna

l?a wa

ne

-no

-no

" (excl)

ya

wa

ladu

de-ya

l?i?ta

to

-lat

-le

ustedes

ma /pa?ma

huz /?u

latu

de-mas

zho

-deb/-des

-e?

-e?

ellos

ngu?

ne?

ba?ka?/ba?ka

dey/den/den

pa or

guk

-deb/-des

-e?

¿cuándo?

ni ngu?/ni?kuwā?

ni ša

maka

ge/nu

šun?z

pa or

guk

-deb/-des

-e?

Boas, Franz. (1913) Notes on the Chatino language of Mexico.

American Anthropologist n.s. 15. 78-86.

"While engaged in the investigation of the Mexican dialect of Pochnilla, Oaxaca, Mexico, for the International School of American Archaeology and Ethnology, I had the opportunity to spend a few hours with a Chatino, and collected a little material which may be of interest, because it shows definitely that Chatino is a remote branch of the Zapotecan family and patches of the very remarkable phonetics of that group of languages... not sufficient material... confine myself to a few disconnected remarks."

The language is spoken only in the district of Juquila. It is called by the people themselves *Ĉastinyon'ic*. [ĉastinyó]. It is spoken according to my informant, Ezéquiél Vázquez, in the following villages:

First Dialect.

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| * Juquila | * Yolotepec (S. Ma. Yolotepec) |
| * Yaitepéc | * Mialtepec (S. Ma.) |
| * Temaxcaltepec | * Ixpantepec (Sn. Francisco) |
| * Teotepéc | * Quiahije (Sn. Juan) |
| * Cerixtla | * Ixtapan (S. Ma.) |
| * Tiltépec | * Zacatepec |
| * Nopala | * Panixtlahuaca (Sn. Miguel) |
| * San Gabriel Mixtepec | |
| * Lachao (San Juan). | |

Tepexitlahuaca.

Second Dialect

Tataltepec

Third Dialect

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------|
| * Tlapanalquiahuitl | Zenzontepec. |
| Tlacotepec | |

orthography for list of
places from Sr. Antonio
Peñafiel - División
Territorial de la República
Mexicana. Mexico. 3
Secretaría de Fomento. 1904

Note -

Boas gathered some Chatino data ^{for a few hours} while doing field work on Pochinla Aztec. He acknowledges the historical setting in his 1913 article in the American Anthropologist. He did not postulate any connection between Chatino and Pochinla Aztec, probably because of the more obvious genetic relation with Zapotec which was still obscure enough to merit attention in the article. Though Boas says nothing about stress placement in Chatino, the vocabulary items in his word list of approx. 175 items are written with ~~syllable~~ word-final stress except for seven items, five of which are morphologically complex and the syllable after the stressed syllable can be assumed to be a separate word; two are verbs which have the vowel -i after the stressed syllable and this -i may possibly be a syllable final y, and not a post-stress syllable.

or Note. Boas in his article on Chatino, written from data gathered at the same time as his field work on Pochinla Aztec, ~~does not~~ focuses primarily on the fact that Chatino is a phonetically divergent form of Zapotec. He does not say anything about stress placement in Chatino, though his transcription shows it to be on the word-final syllable almost everywhere. Neither did it occur to him that the ^{syllabic} structure of the ^{word} ~~syllable~~ in Chatino had anything in common with that in Pochinla Aztec.

Eutimio Perez. 1888 Recuerdos Historicos del Episcopado
Oaxaqueño, Oaxaca.



Tehuquila

- * S. Miguel Panistlahuaca
- * Sta. Ma. Ixtapan
- * S. Juan Quiabije
- * S. Fco. Ixpantepec
- * Sta. Ma. Miattepec
- * Sta. Ma. Yolotepec
- * S. Juan Lachas
- S. Pedro Tlachatengo
- Trapiche de Santa Ana
- Trapiche de Soledad

Teojomulco

- S. Lorenzo
- Santiago
- Santiago Minas
- Sn. Jacinto (Tlacotepec?)
- * Tlapanal quiahuit

Tuxtlaahuaca

- Apalapan
- Sn. Martín
- Sn. Pedro
- Santiago Jicayan
- S. Miguel Elotepec
- S. Cristóbal
- S. Juan.

Yaitepec

- * Nopala
- * Cuixtla
- * Tultepec
- * S. Gabriel (Mixtepec)
- S. Pedro
- * Tamayaltepec
- * Yaitepec
- * Zacatepec.

Boas - Chatino - 3 -

Three tones - high - \ c aspiration
 rising ~ E global stop
 low (unmarked) i stress.

Boas lists Zapotec cognates for 55 words out of his list of 175 ^{Chatino.} words.
 esp. numbers & pronouns are cognate. _{not especially cognate.}

Says nothing about stress placement, but on individual
 vocabulary items it is nearly always written on the last syllable.
 Very few exceptions.

all men - kiligá^c kiyu^c (two words)

~~the~~ my ear dia' ya^c (morphologically complex)

hair of my head ki'o^c kè^c (phrase)

my hand na' ya^c (phrase)

to have ju'i - verb. (ends in i)

house in which one lives. naà'c ki^c (phrase)

to kill ho'i & verb - (ends in i).

also in paradigm. Boas implies has stress on the penult -

- we can assume that these are morphologically complex and
 the item after the stress is an ~~independent~~ word.
 separate.